

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01

ACDA-19 EB-11 H-03 IO-14 SAM-01 DRC-01 /169 W

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P R 271800Z MAR 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4837

SECDEF PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3825

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 1672

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MILI, NATO

SUBJ: MARCH 27 NAC: FAREWELL REMARKS BY CHAIRMAN OF MILITARY
COMMITTEE

1. IN FAREWELL REMARKS TO NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL GENERAL JOHANNES STEINHOFF, RETIRING CHAIRMAN, MILITARY COMMITTEE, APPEALED FOR POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF EUROPE IN ORDER TO MAKE IT A STRONG PARTNER OF THE UNITED STATES. STEINHOFF, COMMENTING ON DIFFICULTIES FACING THE ALLIANCE, NOTED THERE ARE GREAT POSSIBILITIES FOR EFFICIENCY ON THE MILITARY SIDE THROUGH STANDARDIZATION AND SPECIALIZATION, AND THROUGH INTEGRATION IN LOGISTICS, R&D, PROCUREMENT, AND TRAINING. HOWEVER, HE COULD SEE NO WAY OF ACHIEVING THESE EFFICIENCIES UNTIL POLITICAL PROBLEMS WERE SOLVED, AND IN HIS VIEW THAT MEANT MOVING TOWARD EUROPEAN POLITICAL AMALGAMATION. STEINHOFF ALSO CALLED FOR ALLIANCE CONSULTATIONS ON ISSUES OUTSIDE THE TREATY AREA, AGREEMENT ON THE REORGANIZATION OF ALLIED AIR FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, AND UNDERSTANDING FOR THE
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PROBLEMS OF MAJOR NATO COMMANDERS.

2. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF SUBSTANTIVE PORTIONS OF GENERAL STEINHOFF'S STATEMENT:

BEGIN TEXT:

-AS I HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY, THE ALLIANCE IS STILL STRONG AND OUR STRATEGY IS SOUND. I HAVE SEEN MANY ADJUSTMENTS AND IMPROVEMENTS DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS. I DO NOT NEED TO ELABORATE ON THEM BECAUSE THEY ORIGINATED OR HAVE BEEN AUTHORISED IN THIS FORUM. ONE CAN LOOK BACK WITH SATISFACTION AND MAYBE EVEN WITH AMAZEMENT AT HOW THIS CONGLOMERATION OF VASTLY DIFFERENT NATIONS HAS BEEN ABLE TO OVERCOME SO MANY COMPLEX PROBLEMS AND DIFFICULTIES IN THE PAST.

-IN LITTLE MORE THAN A QUARTER OF A CENTURY EUROPE HAS RISEN FROM A STATE OF COLLAPSE AFTER THE MOST CRUEL DEVASTATION IN MODERN HISTORY AND HAS, WITH THE COOPERATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND BY THEIR GREAT ASSISTANCE, RE-GAINED ITS ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL STABILITY. THE ALLIANCE HAS BUILT A BRIDGE ACROSS THE ATLANTIC AND BY DOING THIS HAS BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN ITS INTEGRITY. THIS HAS BEEN DONE IN CONFRONTATION WITH POSSIBLY THE MOST POWERFUL AND MEANINGFUL THREAT IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND. THE MILITARY CAPABILITIES OF THE WARSAW PACT, WHICH INSTIGATE THE DANGEROUS THREAT I HAVE JUST TALKED ABOUT, NOT ONLY STILL EXIST, THEY ARE INCREASING.

-I HAVE ALWAYS CONSIDERED, AND I SHARE THIS VIEW WITH MY MILITARY COLLEAGUES, THE ABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE TO PURSUE ITS PRESENT POLICY OF SECURITY AND DETENTE AS A SIGN OF THE GREAT STRENGTH AND COURAGE OF THE ALLIANCE. THIS HAS OPENED A WIDE FIELD OF POLITICAL AND-ONE CAN ONLY HOPE-MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS WHICH MAY ENABLE US TO EASE THE DIFFICULTIES AND USE THE GREAT POSSIBILITIES WHICH OUR IDEALS OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM PROVIDE US.

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-I AM RELUCTANT TO PREDICT SUCCESS FOR THE TWO MAIN INITIATIVES IN THIS FIELD; THE ATTEMPTS TO NEGOTIATE A LIMITATION TO THE STRATEGIC NUCLEAR ARMS RACE AND A LOWERING OF THE DANGEROUS MILITARY CONFRONTATION IN CENTRAL EUROPE. BUT I AM CONVINCED THAT IF AGREEMENTS CAN BE REACHED WHICH WILL MAINTAIN THE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY OF OUR ALLIANCE, THE CONSEQUENCES WILL BE POLITICALLY AND MILITARILY ADVANTAGEOUS FOR US ALL BECAUSE I BELIEVE IN THE MAGNETISM OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

MY REMARKS THUS FAR MAY HAVE SOUNDED TOO OPTIMISTIC, AND I HASTEN TO EMPHASIZE THAT CONTEMPLATING

ONE'S SUCCESS AND RELYING ON STRENGTHS PROVEN IN THE
PAST, IS A DANGEROUS SHOULDER TO REST ON.

LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE, AND BY THAT I MEAN
THE NEAR FUTURE, IS FOR ME NOT AS ENCOURAGING AS THE
REVIEW I JUST MADE.

AT THE END OF MY TENURE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE
MILITARY COMMITTEE, I AM LEAVING A GREAT NUMBER OF
UNRESOLVED PROBLEMS TO MY SUCCESSOR. IT IS QUITE
CLEAR THAT THE ALLIANCE WILL FACE A PERIOD WHEN POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC PRESSURES WILL REQUIRE VERY IMPORTANT
DECISIONS TO BE REACHED. THE MAINTENANCE OF A STRONG
U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE IN EUROPE, THE NECESSARY
BUDGETARY ECONOMIES FOR THE EUROPEAN PARTNERS, THE
RISING COST OF MODERN WEAPONS SYSTEMS AS WELL AS
MANPOWER, ARE JUST A FEW EXAMPLES.

BECAUSE THE WARSAW PACT CONTINUES TO IMPROVE
ITS MILITARY CAPABILITIES IN QUANTITY AS WELL AS IN QUALITY,
THE TREND OF THE MILITARY BALANCE BETWEEN EAST AND WEST
IS NOT AT ALL FAVOURABLE FOR US AND THEREFORE I CANNOT
BUT WARN THAT THE ALLIANCE COULD BE IN JEOPARDY IF THE
PROBLEMS I HAVE MENTIONED ARE NOT RESOLVED IN A
REALISTIC WAY. WHAT I MEAN BY "REALISTIC" IS ILLUSTRATED
BY WHAT THE FORMER SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE UNITED STATES
DEAN ACHESON, ONCE SAID:

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3826

USNMR SHAPE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USNATO 1672

"AGREEMENT CAN ALWAYS BE REACHED BY INCREASING THE GENERALITY OF THE CONCLUSION. WHEN THIS IS DONE, THE FORM IS PRESERVED BUT ONLY THE ILLUSION OF POLICY IS CREATED."

I AM HOPEFUL THAT THE PRESENT DIFFICULTIES FACING OUR ALLIANCE CAN BE OVERCOME. THEY ARE MAINLY OF A POLITICAL NATURE. FROM THE MILITARY SIDE, THERE ARE POSSIBILITIES WHICH CAN BE OFFERED FOR MUCH GREATER EFFICIENCY AND THERE HAVE BEEN SUCH PROPOSALS FOR A LONG TIME. FOR EXAMPLE, STANDARDIZATION, SPECIALIZATION, EXTENDING INTEGRATION INTO THE FIELD OF LOGISTICS, RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, PROCUREMENT AND TRAINING. ALL THESE AND OTHER EFFORTS WILL NOT BE SUCCESSFUL WITHOUT THE POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF EUROPE TO MAKE IT A STRONG PARTNER WITH THE UNITED STATES. THIS WILL CARRY US TO THE POINT WHERE NATIONAL POLICIES WILL HAVE TO BE AMALGAMATED INTO ONE ALLIANCE EFFORT. ON A CONTINENT WHERE NO COUNTRY WILL, FOR THE COMING YEARS, CONFIDENTIAL

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BE EXCLUDED FROM INFLATION RATES OF 10 PCT OR HIGHER, I SEE NO ALTERNATIVE TO POLITICAL AMALGAMATION. WE ARE WASTING TREMENDOUS SUMS OF MONEY BY THE DUPLICATION OF NATIONAL EFFORTS IN THE FIELD OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND PROCUREMENT, AND ONLY THE HIGHEST AMOUNT OF COOPERATION-AND FROM, THAT, STANDARDIZATION-WILL MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO KEEP OUR DETERRENT INTACT. IT WOULD, HOWEVER, BE TOTALLY WRONG AND UNREALISTIC TO BELIEVE THAT THE EUROPEAN NATIONS, ON THEIR OWN, COULD REPLACE THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, SPECIFICALLY THE NUCLEAR DETERRENT.

TO SUMMARIZE, CLOSER POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN THE EUROPEANS AND A STRONG INVOLVEMENT OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE SECURITY OF EUROPE, REMAINS THE KEY TO THE SURVIVAL OF OUR FREEDOM. I AM CONVINCED THAT THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IF ONLY THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES AND PARLIAMENTS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC ARE INFORMED AS TO THE DANGERS WHICH FACE THE ALLIANCE. I WOULD LIKE TO QUOTE HERE WHAT PRESIDENT FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT SAID IN 1945:

"THE ONLY LIMIT TO OUR REALIZATION OF TOMORROW, WILL BE OUR DOUBTS OF TODAY."

MR. CHAIRMAN, I WOULD LIKE TO ADD A FEW REMARKS ON AREAS WHERE I THINK THE ALLIANCE DOES NOT EXPLOIT ITS POSSIBILITIES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF ITS SECURITY TO THE FULL EXTENT. I HAVE ALREADY MENTIONED THE GREAT BENEFITS WHICH CAN BE DERIVED FROM STANDARDIZATION

AND SPECIALIZATION, BUT THERE ARE STILL OTHERS WHICH WE SHOULD STUDY.

I BELIEVE THAT THE RECENT MIDDLE EAST WAR HAS MADE IT APPARENT THAT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD NOT BE RESTRICTED IN ITS THINKING BY ITS BOUNDARIES. WE NEED TO RECOGNISE AND ACCEPT POSSIBILITIES OF COOPERATION WITH FRIENDS OR POTENTIAL ALLIES. IN THIS RESPECT WE SHOULD LOOK FOR A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP TO BE BUILT BETWEEN NATO AND CENTO.
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INTERNALLY, I PLEAD THAT WE SHOULD OVERCOME DIFFERING NATIONAL VIEWPOINTS, WHERE, AS SECRETARY SCHLESINGER POINTED OUT, THESE VIEWS ARE NOT CONCERNING BASIC NATIONAL INTERESTS. A TYPICAL EXAMPLE FOR SUCH A PROBLEM IS THE RE-ORGANIZATION OF ALLIED AIR FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS PROBLEM IS THE ONE AREA FOR WHICH I HAVE THE GREATEST REGRET THAT THE ALLIANCE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO REACH A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION THAT WILL ENABLE SACREUR TO MAKE THE BEST USE OF OUR AIR FORCES-AN ABSOLUTELY VITAL REQUIREMENT FOR SUCCESSFUL DETERRENCE. THE CHIEFS OF STAFF ARE CURRENTLY AND ACTIVELY DISCUSSING THIS PROBLEM AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL, BUT THEY WILL ONLY BE ABLE TO REACH A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION WITH THE STRONG BACKING OF THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS. THIS PROBLEM SEEMS TO HAVE NOT ONLY MILITARY ASPECTS BUT POLITICAL AND EVEN ECONOMICAL ONES AS WELL. I THINK IT MUST BE SOLVED SOON ON MILITARY GROUNDS ONLY.

BEFORE CLOSING, I SHOULD LIKE TO MENTION ONE OTHER POINT WHICH IS CLOSE TO MY HEART. I HAVE ALWAYS BEEN AWED BY THE GREAT BURDEN OF RESPONSIBILITY WHICH RESTS ON THE MNCS AND I WOULD LIKE TO URGE OUR CONTINUED COOPERATION WITH THEM. THEY MAY SOMETIMES SEEM TO ASK FOR TOO MUCH, TOO SOON, BUT THEIR HIGHEST RESPONSIBILITY IS TO PREPARE OUR SOLDIERS, THE YOUNG GENERATION OF OUR PEOPLES, TO THE BEST OF THEIR ABILITY. THEIR MOST IMPORTANT GOAL IS TO PREVENT HOSTILITIES BY DETERRENCE AT ALL LEVELS, BUT IF WAR SHOULD EVER BE FORCED UPON US, THEY WILL BE RESPONSIBLE THAT NOTHING WITHIN OUR ABILITY HAS BEEN MISSED TO PREPARE THEM RIGHTLY, AND I AM SURE NOBODY WOULD WANT TO LEARN THAT WE HAVE PROVIDED THEM WITH TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE.
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